

Message Text

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TAGS: PARM, SOPN

SUBJECT: JUNE 5 ROUNDUP: PRESS ITEMS OF ARMS CONTROL
INTEREST

LONDON FOR AMB/EX, SOFIA FOR AMBASSADOR

1. ROBERT KAISER AND WALTER PINCUS OF WASHINGTON POST
REPORTED THAT DEFENSE SECRETARY BROWN SAID SUNDAY THAT U.S.
POSITIONS IN SALT ARE NOT "CAST IN CONCRETE." THEY SAID
BROWN GAVE SOME DETAILS OF LATEST SOVIET PROPOSAL THAT U.S.
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TURNED DOWN LAST WEEK. UNLIKE BRZEZINSKI WHO TOLD TV
AUDIENCE WEEK EARLIER THAT SOVIET UNION WOULD HAVE TO
ACCEPT ALL OUTSTANDING U.S. PROPOSALS, BROWN SAID "WE HAVE
RECAST" U.S. OFFERS "NUMBER OF TIMES AND I WOULD NOT BAR
RECASTING THEM AGAIN." PINCUS AND KAISER REPORTED THAT
"AN AIDE TO BROWN SAID LATER HIS POSITION WAS REALLY CLOSE
TO BRZEZINSKI'S, BECAUSE BROWN SAW VERY LITTLE PRACTICAL

ROOM TO CHANGE U.S. POSITIONS, BUT HIS PUBLIC FORMULATION WAS MUCH MORE FORTHCOMING THAN BRZEZINSKI'S LAST WEEK. BROWN INDICATED -- AND OTHER OFFICIALS CONFIRMED -- THAT LATEST SOVIET OFFER PROPOSED BANNING ALL TESTING OR DEPLOYMENT OF COMPLETING NEW TYPES OF INTERCONTINENTAL LAND-BASED MISSILES UNTIL 1985 BY BOTH COUNTRIES." POST STAFF WRITERS SAID NEW SOVIET OFFER, PRESENTED BY GROMYKO TO

CARTER MAY 27, DID NOT COVER DIFFICULT QUESTION OF HOW MUCH EACH COUNTRY WOULD BE ALLOWED TO MODERNIZE EXISTING MISSILE SYSTEMS DURING LIFE OF NEW SALT AGREEMENT. THUS FAR, THEY NOTED, U.S. AND SOVIET POSITIONS ARE FAR APART ON THIS QUESTION. "U.S. FEELS THAT LATEST SOVIET DEFINITION OF MODERNIZATION WOULD ALLOW MOSCOW TO PUT INTO USE SEVERAL ESSENTIALLY NEW ROCKET SYSTEMS BASED ON EXISTING MODELS THAT IT HAD RECENTLY BEEN TESTING," PINCUS AND KAISER SAID. THEY SAID OFFICIALS WHO DEFENDED DECISION TO TURN DOWN GROMYKO'S OFFER EMPHASIZED IT WAS ACTUALLY LITTLE WORSE THAN PREVIOUS SOVIET POSITIONS. ACCORDING TO THIS REASONING, SOVIETS SIMPLY WERE TRYING TO BLOCK U.S. FROM TESTING OR DEPLOYING NEW LAND-BASED MOBILE SYSTEM LIKE MX, WHILE PERMITTING SOVIETS TO MAKE SUBSTANTIAL IMPROVEMENTS IN THEIR MISSILE FORCE UNDER GUISE OF "MODERNIZATION." KAISER AND PINCUS REPORTED THAT "SOME SENIOR U.S. OFFICIALS WERE OFFENDED BY REMARK REPORTEDLY MADE BY GROMYKO WHEN HE WAS TOLD LAST WEDNESDAY THAT U.S. REGARDED HIS PROPOSAL AS UNCLASSIFIED

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INADEQUATE. AT SAME TIME, AMERICAN SIDE DECLINED TO MAKE COUNTERPROPOSAL. AT THAT, GROMYKO SAID U.S. POSTURE WOULD LOOK UNREASONABLE WHEN IT BECAME PUBLICLY KNOWN, SEVERAL SOURCES SAID. THIS CONVINCED SOME AMERICAN OFFICIALS THAT SOVIET OFFER WAS MADE FOR PUBLIC RELATIONS PURPOSES." POST WRITERS SAID AT OPPOSITE EXTREME, SOME U.S. OFFICIALS THOUGHT GROMYKO PROPOSAL OFFERED SIGNIFICANT NEW OPPORTUNITY FOR BREAKTHROUGH IN SALT NEGOTIATIONS. ACCORDING TO THIS VIEW, IDEA OF BAN ON NEW ROCKETS UNTIL 1985 COULD BECOME BASIS FOR AN EXCELLENT AGREEMENT, PROVIDED IT WERE ACCOMPANIED BY RIGHT KIND OF AGREED DEFINITIONS OF "MODERNIZATION." PINCUS AND KAISER ADDED THAT "SOME OFFICIALS APPARENTLY THOUGHT US COULD HAVE MADE PROGRESS BY ACCEPTING GROMYKO PROPOSAL CONDITIONAL ON SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME OF NEGOTIATING ON THOSE DEFINITIONS. THIS VIEW WAS REJECTED BY ADMINISTRATION. TURN DOWN OF GROMYKO'S PROPOSAL WAS CITED BY SOME OFFICIALS LAST WEEK AS AN INDICATION THAT CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAD, IN EFFECT, FROZEN SALT NEGOTIATIONS. OTHER OFFICIALS SAID ADMINISTRATION'S CALCULATION THAT THIS SUMMER WOULD BE POLITICALLY INOPPORTUNE TIME TO SIGN SALT AGREEMENT EFFECTIVELY PRECLUDED EARLY PROGRESS TOWARD AN OVERALL SALT PACT.... U.S. CHOSE

RELATIVELY ABRUPT WAY TO TURNDOWN GROMYKO'S IDEA, BY
SIMPLY TELLING HIM IT WASN'T GOOD ENOUGH, WITHOUT OFFERING
NEW IDEAS FROM AMERICAN SIDE. SOME SENIOR OFFICIALS SEE
THIS AS SIGN THAT ADMINISTRATION'S POSTURE ON SALT NOW IS
TO STALL TALKS AND PRECLUDE ANY CHANCE OF NEW AGREEMENT
THIS SUMMER. OTHER OFFICIALS SAID IT WAS JUST 'GOOD
NEGOTIATING TACTICS' TO TURN GROMYKO DOWN COLD, ASSUMING
THAT SOVIETS ALREADY HAVE MORE FORTHCOMING POSITION ON THIS
ISSUE THAT TURNDOWN SHOULD ELICIT IN WEEKS OR MONTHS AHEAD.
ASKED YESTERDAY WHY THERE HAD BEEN NO U.S. COUNTEROFFER,
ONE SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL SAID U.S. CAN RETURN TO
THESE ISSUES IN EXPERT-LEVEL SALT NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA."
PINCUS AND KAISER SAID GROMYKO'S PROPOSAL IS "EXTREMELY
CLOSE TO U.S. SUGGESTION MADE TO SOVIETS IN MARCH LAST
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YEAR AS PART OF ADMINISTRATION'S NEW, 'COMPREHENSIVE PRO-
POSAL' FOR SALT. SOVIETS TURNED THAT APPROACH DOWN COLD,
FORCING NEGOTIATIONS BACK ONTO PATH FOLLOWED IN FORD AD-
MINISTRATION. SENIOR OFFICIAL NOTED THIS IRONY YESTERDAY,
BUT SAID TIMES HAD CHANGED IN 15 INTERVENING MONTHS.
SOVIETS HAVE COMPLETED TESTING OF LOT OF NEW MISSILES,
OFFICIAL SAID, CREATING NEED FOR U.S. TO MATCH THEIR
IMPROVED FORCE." BROWN SAID ON CBS NETWORK'S "FACE
NATION" THAT ANY SALT PROPOSAL THAT PREVENTED U.S. FROM
MODERNIZING ITS LAND-BASED ICBM FORCE WITH NEW MISSILE
SYSTEM OF SOME KIND "WOULD HAVE TO CARRY WITH IT ON OTHER
SIDE GREAT MANY RESTRICTIONS IN ORDER TO CONSTITUTE FAIR
TRADE. SOMETHING WHICH SIMPLY KEEPS SOVIETS FROM BUILDING
ONE MISSILE WHILE ALLOWING THEM TO CHANGE AND MODERNIZE
GOOD MANY OTHERS IS NOT FAIR TRADE FOR OUR ONLY PLANNED
NEW LAND-BASED MISSILE."

2. WASHINGTON POST SENIOR DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENT MURREY
MARDER SAID "CARTER OUTCRY" AGAINST POST REPORT LAST FRI-
DAY THAT HIS ADMINISTRATION HAD "EFFECTIVELY FROZEN" SALT
NEGOTIATIONS WAS AIMED AT LARGER TARGET THAN NEWSPAPER,
"AS CARTER HIMSELF ACKNOWLEDGED." MARDER SAID CARTER WAS
ATTEMPTING TO CONVINCE BREZHNEV AND POLITBURO THAT "HE IS
NOT ABANDONING SALT TREATY, WHICH SERIOUSLY AILING BREZH-
NEV LONG ENVISIONED SIGNING AT SUMMIT CONFERENCE IN WASH-
INGTON THIS SUMMER TO CLIMAX HIS CAREER. BUT BREZHNEV
KNOWS BETTER THAN ANY OTHER OUTSIDER ACTUAL STATE OF SALT
NEGOTIATIONS." MARDER HAS BEEN AWARDED YEAR'S FELLOWSHIP,
BEGINNING IN SEPTEMBER, BY COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
FOR RESEARCH-WRITING PROJECT ON "AMERICAN-SOVIET MISPERCEP-
TIONS IN DIPLOMACY."

3. SYNDICATED COLUMNIST GEORGE WILL, IN WASHINGTON POST
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SUNDAY, SAID THERE WOULD BE "LITTLE OPPOSITION" TO TEST BAN TREATY LOWERING THRESHOLD DRASTICALLY, PERHAPS TO FIVE KILOTONS. BUT, HE INSISTED, AT APPROXIMATELY THAT POINT LIMIT BECOMES UNVERIFIABLE. IT IS INCONCEIVABLE THAT SOVIETS WILL ACCEPT THOROUGH, RIGOROUS INSPECTION AND MECHANICAL VERIFICATION MEASURES OF SORT THAT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO PREVENT ADMINISTRATION'S CTB PROPOSAL FROM BEING "WORSE THAN NO AGREEMENT," WILL SAID, ADDING THAT "DEPRESSING ASPECT OF TEST-BAN DEBATE IN U.S. WILL BE ADMINISTRATION'S UNAVAILING STRUGGLE TO MAINTAIN ITS INTELLECTUAL INTEGRITY WHILE ARGUING FOR ITS OWN PROPOSAL. COMPLETE TEST BAN WOULD BE IMPRUDENT BECAUSE IT WOULD

ALSO 'PROOF TESTING' OF SORT NEEDED TO MAINTAIN CONFIDENCE IN RELIABILITY OF DETERRENT."

3. DAVID BINDER OF NEW YORK TIMES, CITING INTELLIGENCE REPORTS, SAID SOVIET UNION HAS MORE THAN 100,000 TROOPS ASSIGNED TO CHEMICAL WARFARE, WITH SPECIALISTS ATTACHED TO UNITS DOWN TO COMPANY LEVEL. SOVIET-SUPPLIED EQUIPMENT CAPTURED BY ISRAELIS IN 1973 MIDDLE EAST WAR AND SUBSEQUENT INTELLIGENCE FINDINGS INDICATE THAT SOVIET UNION HAS INTEGRATED CHEMICAL WARFARE FULLY INTO STRUCTURE, EQUIPMENT AND TRAINING OF ITS GROUND, AIR AND SEA FORCE. THIS HAS PROMPTED U.S. MILITARY PLANNERS TO UPGRADE DEFENSE CAPABILITIES IN CHEMICAL WARFARE, BINDER SAID, NOTING THAT PENTAGON WILL BE SPENDING 60 MILLION DOLLARS ON "DETECTION, WARNING, MEDICAL DEFENSE, PROTECTIVE AND DECONTAMINATION EQUIPMENT" IN FISCAL YEAR BEGINNING NEXT OCTOBER -- "CONSIDERABLE INCREASE OVER LAST YEAR."

4. HENRY BRADSHAW OF WASHINGTON STAR REPORTED THAT SOUTH AFRICA HAS BEGUN DISMANTLING STRUCTURES IN KALAHARI DESERT THAT CAUSED INTERNATIONAL APPREHENSIONS LAST YEAR OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS TEST. BRADSHAW SAID KEY U.S. OFFICIAL CALLED DISMANTLING HOPEFUL SIGN THAT SOUTH AFRICA MIGHT

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BE MOVING TOWARD GREATER COOPERATION WITH WEST ON NUCLEAR MATTERS. "IT'S POWERFUL STEP IN RIGHT DIRECTION THAT WE'RE SEEING," OFFICIAL SAID. VANCE

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